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Center for
The People &
The Press

NEWS

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The People, The Press and Politics:

GOP Collects Big War Dividend

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GOP COLLECTS BIG WAR DIVIDEND

The military victory in the Gulf has positioned Republicans to establish the GOP as the dominant national political party.

The latest nationwide survey by the ***Times Mirror Center For The People & The Press*** finds more Americans calling themselves Republicans than Democrats and shows the GOP with a 10 percentage point lead in congressional voting intentions.

George Bush's extraordinary popularity anchors the GOP's position with the public. Not only does the poll find Bush with an 84% approval rating, it also shows him trouncing Mario Cuomo by more than 50 percentage points in one of the most lopsided test elections results ever to come out of a major opinion poll (77% to 16%).

The nationwide survey of 2,028 adults, aged 18 years and older, found Republicans outnumbering Democrats by a margin of 36% to 29%. A late January mid-war poll was the first survey in the Times Mirror Center series to show a slight GOP lead on this critical political indicator. That survey found Republicans outnumbering Democrats by a thin 34% to 31% margin. Throughout the latter half of 1990, and as recently as early January of this year, Democrats slightly outnumbered Republicans in terms of party identification (3-4 percentage points) in Times Mirror's monthly surveys.

If the GOP holds on to its new converts, it could potentially break the longstanding Democratic lock on Congress. The current poll finds the GOP leading the Democrats by a 50% to 40% margin, when survey respondents were asked which party they would like to see win in their congressional district if the election were being held today. When the sample is restricted to registered voters, the GOP margin narrowed slightly to 51% to 42%.

Exit polls by Voter Research Surveys last November found Democrats outpolling Republicans in House races by a margin of 52% to 48%.

Republicans have never had a significant nationwide plurality in party affiliation or a meaningful lead in Congressional voting intentions since before the Great Depression of the 1930's. The ability of the GOP to keep its new adherents and its lead in voting intentions is a major political question.

Democratic weakness also must be factored into the equation. The survey finds incumbents who voted against the use of force in the Gulf to be highly vulnerable to voter disapproval.

Forty-seven percent of Times Mirror's respondents said they would be less likely to vote for their Congressperson if they learned that he or she had voted against the use of force in the Gulf. Conversely, 44% of those surveyed said they would be more likely to vote for their representative if they learned that he or she had voted in favor of using force in the Gulf.

The survey reveals that even groups that opposed the use of force back in early January now say they would vote against members of Congress who opposed force. For example, among women the margin of being more likely to vote against rather than in support of a member who opposed force is 42% to 13%; among blacks, it is 38% to 16%, and among Democrats 39% to 13%.

Part of the problem for the Democratic party is that although a plurality of Americans (46%) think that Democrats who opposed the use of force did so because they thought that economic sanctions would work, more than one-third of the public believes that Democrats opposed military action either because Democrats in Congress wanted to block Bush (19%) or because today's Democratic party is reluctant to use military force (18%).

A Youth Movement

Although the Republican party has made gains among virtually all demographic groups, its most sizable increases in support have occurred among young people. In Times Mirror's latest survey, Republicans outnumber Democrats by a 41% to 21% margin among people under 30. And these under 30s say they prefer Republican candidates to Democratic candidates in their congressional district by a similar 2 to 1 margin. Nationwide surveys taken in Fall 1990 revealed a slim 31%-27% margin in party affiliation among under 30s.

The poll also finds larger than average gains for the GOP in traditional areas of Democratic strength: in the East, among less well-educated and lower income people. The survey also finds black voters more disposed to Republican candidates than they were a year ago. In the spring of 1990, black voters favored Democratic candidates over Republicans for Congress in their district by a margin of 82% to 9%. The current survey shows that margin reduced to a 73% to 23% Democratic margin of support.

Although the GOP is in a much stronger position today with these traditional Democratic groups and with younger people, its connection with its new adherents is clearly jeopardized by the disparity between the political beliefs and values of these groups and Republican stalwarts.

Sixty-three percent of all Times Mirror respondents said they would be more likely to vote for their congressional representative if they learned that he or she had voted in favor of increasing spending on health care. Among Republicans, this percentage of probable support fell to 57%, while it rose to 76% among blacks and to 70% among people with family incomes under $20,000.

One measure which might shore up GOP gains is the selection of Colin Powell as President Bush's vice presidential running mate. Times Mirror's survey was divided into two random half samples of 1000 people each. In one half, a Bush/Quayle ticket

was tested against a Cuomo/Kerrey ticket; in the other half a Bush/Powell ticket was matched against the Democratic challengers. The Bush/Powell ticket beat Cuomo/Kerrey by a slightly larger but statistically significant margin. Bush/Powell led the Democratic challengers 79% to 14% while the ticket that included Dan Quayle resulted in a 74% to 17% margin.

Although such a small difference would be window dressing if Bush remains a popular President, the survey indicated that a Powell candidacy might help the GOP further down the ticket, where the margins will likely be thinner.

Support for the GOP in the Congressional voting intentions question was significantly greater in the Bush/Powell half sample than it was in the Bush/Quayle half sample. The Republican margin over the Democrats with Powell on the ticket was 53% to 40%, while it was 48% to 40% with Quayle.

Support for Republican candidates for Congress among blacks increased from 19% with Quayle in the second spot to 31% points when Colin Powell was tested as the GOP candidate for Vice President.

TREND IN PARTY IDENTIFICATION
FALL 1990 TO MARCH 1991

	Republicans		*Democrats*		*Independents*		*Number of Interviews*	
	Fall 1990	March 1991	Fall 1990	March 1991	Fall 1990	March 1991	Fall 1990	March 1991
Total	29	36	33	29	32	31	(3665)	(2028)
Demographics								
Sex								
Male	32	35	27	26	36	35	(1835)	(1011)
Female	27	36	38	31	28	28	(1830)	(1017)
Race								
White	32	38	30	26	33	31	(3125)	(1711)
Black	8	13	64	52	22	27	(294)	(172)
Age								
<25	33	44	25	18	38	31	(456)	(273)
25-29	28	38	30	24	35	34	(410)	(229)
30-39	29	33	31	28	35	35	(892)	(510)
40-49	30	28	30	31	35	35	(609)	(356)
50-59	24	34	37	34	31	28	(444)	(230)
60+	30	38	41	34	22	24	(827)	(430)
Family Income								
<$20,000	23	35	40	31	33	28	(1055)	(510)
$20,000-$29,999	28	32	33	31	33	32	(639)	(371)
$30,000-$49,999	33	34	30	29	34	34	(902)	(520)
$50,000+	41	41	25	25	30	31	(727)	(415)
Region								
East	29	38	34	26	32	33	(878)	(478)
Midwest	28	33	29	26	35	36	(950)	(529)
South	29	36	37	33	29	25	(1120)	(699)
West	32	36	31	29	32	30	(717)	(322)
Education								
College Grad.	36	43	28	26	34	29	(1014)	(536)
Some College	32	31	31	23	32	39	(812)	(407)
High School Grad.	29	35	33	29	32	32	(1388)	(818)
Less than High School Grad.	21	33	42	36	29	24	(423)	(261)

TREND IN CONGRESSIONAL PREFERENCE 1990-1991

	Republicans			*Democrats*			*Number of Interviews*	
	Spring 1990	March 1991	Diff	Spring 1990	March 1991	Diff	Spring 1990	March 1991
Total	42	51	+9	48	42	-6	(2308)	(1618)
Demographics								
Sex								
Male	47	54	+7	42	39	-3	(1142)	(803)
Female	39	49	+10	52	44	-8	(1166)	(815)
Race								
White	47	55	+8	42	38	-4	(1910)	(1382)
Black	9	23	+14	82	73	-9	(326)	(140)
Age								
<25	38	66	+28	47	31	-16	(172)	(166)
25-29	42	58	+16	43	37	-6	(181)	(151)
30-39	40	47	+7	47	47	0	(436)	(399)
40-49	39	47	+8	49	43	-6	(390)	(305)
50-59	45	48	+3	46	44	-2	(316)	(207)
60+	47	51	+4	48	42	-6	(796)	(390)
Family Income								
<$20,000	36	47	+11	56	44	-12	(807)	(376)
$20,000-$29,999	41	51	+10	47	44	-3	(304)	(284)
$30,000-$49,999	44	51	+7	48	44	-4	(518)	(434)
$50,000+	54	58	+4	35	37	+2	(376)	(364)
Region								
East	39	53	+14	49	42	-7	(580)	(357)
Midwest	40	50	+10	48	41	-7	(574)	(443)
South	46	52	+6	47	40	-7	(724)	(569)
West	44	49	+5	45	45	0	(430)	(249)

PERCENT SUPPORTING REPUBLICANS FOR CONGRESS WHEN TOP OF TICKET INCLUDES:

	Dan Quayle	Colin Powell	Difference In Percentage Points
Total Sample	48	53	+5
Registered Voters	50	53	+3
Sex			
Male	50	56	+6
Female	47	50	+3
Race			
White	52	55	+3
*Non-white	24	36	+12
Black	19	31	+12
Age			
18 - 29	56	60	+4
30-49	44	50	+6
50+	48	50	+2
Region			
East	56	47	-9
Midwest	44	54	+10
South	50	54	+4
West	42	56	+14
Party ID			
Republican	94	93	-1
Democrat	6	7	+1
Independent	43	46	+3

*Non-white include blacks

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among 2,028 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period of March 14 - 19, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 2 percentage points. The sample was divided into two random halves (Form I - 1,012 interviews; Form II - 1,016 interviews). The sampling error for results of questions based on Form I or Form II **only** is plus or minus 3 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

THE PEOPLE, THE PRESS AND POLITICS
POST GULF WAR UPDATE
March 20, 1991
TOPLINE

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

TIME STARTED: _____

TIME FINISHED: _____

LENGTH: _____

REGION:
1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: _____

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: _____

PAGE NUMBER: _____

REPLICATE NUMBER: _____

STRATUM:
1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: _____

March 14-19, 1991

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling from the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a public opinion poll and I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (**IF NO MALE, ASK:** May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX JAN 25
84	Approve	79
10	Disapprove	14
6	Don't know	7
100		100

D8. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat or Independent?

1 Republican -- SKIP TO D10

2 Democrat -- SKIP TO D10

3 Independent

4 Other -- SKIP TO D10

5 DON'T KNOW

PARTY ID

	MARCH 1991	JAN 25-27 1991	JAN 3-6 1991	NOV 1990	OCT 1990	SEPT 1990
Republican	36	34	30	28	30	30
Democrat	29	31	34	32	33	34
Independent/Others	35	35	36	40	34	36
	100	100	100	100	100	100

D9. As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

1 Republican

2 Democratic

3 Other/Don't know

PARTY ID WITH LEANERS

	MARCH 1991	JAN 25-27 1991	JAN 3-6 1991	NOV 1990	OCT 1990	SEPT 1990
Republican & Leaners	50	46	43	40	42	43
Democrat & Leaners	38	40	43	46	44	42
I don't lean	12	14	14	14	14	15
	100	100	100	100	100	100

Now a few questions about elections..

Q.22d Suppose the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the Republican ticket was George Bush for President and Colin Powell for Vice President and the Democratic ticket was Mario Cuomo for President and Robert Kerrey for Vice President. Who would you like to see win?

FORM I

INCLUDES LEANERS

79	Bush/Powell
14	Cuomo/Kerrey
7	Other/Undecided
100	

Q.22e As of today would you lean more to the Bush/Powell ticket or more to the Cuomo/Kerrey ticket?

FORM I

1	Bush/Powell
2	Cuomo/Kerrey
3	Other
4	Undecided

Q.22f Suppose the 1992 presidential election were being held today and the Republican ticket was George Bush for President and Dan Quayle for Vice President and the Democratic ticket was Mario Cuomo for President and Robert Kerrey for Vice President. Who would you like to see win?

FORM II

INCLUDES LEANERS

74	Bush/Quayle
17	Cuomo/Kerrey
9	Other/Undecided
100	

Q.22g As of today would you lean more to the Bush/Quayle ticket or more to the Cuomo/Kerrey ticket?

FORM II

1 Bush/Quayle

2 Cuomo/Kerrey

3 Other

4 Undecided

RESULTS REGARDLESS OF RUNNING MATE
(FORMS I & II COMBINED)

Bush	77
Cuomo	15
Other/Undecided	8

ASK ALL:
Q.22h If the elections for Congress were being held today, which party would you like to see win in your Congressional district?

INCLUDES LEANERS		QUESTION PRECEDED BY:	
Total Sample		BUSH/POWELL	BUSH/QUAYLE
50	Republican	53	48
40	Democratic	40	40
10	Other/Undecided	7	12
100		100	100

Q.22i As of today do you lean more to the Democratic party or more to the Republican party in your Congressional district?

1 Republican

2 Democratic

3 Other

4 Undecided

Now a few more questions about politics..

Q.25 If you learned that your Congressman had voted in favor of increasing spending to improve the nation's health care - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

63	More likely
7	Less likely
25	No effect
5	No opinion
100	

Q.26 If you learned that your Congressman had voted in favor of using force against Iraq after the January 15 deadline had expired - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

44	More likely
13	Less likely
38	No effect
5	No opinion
100	

Q.27 If you learned that your Congressman had voted no to using force against Iraq after the January 15 deadline had expired - would it make you more likely or less likely to vote for his or her re-election, or wouldn't it affect you?

FORM II

12	More likely
47	Less likely
36	No effect
5	No opinion
100	

Q.28 Why do you think the Democrats in Congress who voted against going to war did so? (READ CHOICES)

FORM II

19	Mainly because they wanted to oppose President Bush
18	Mainly because today's Democrats are reluctant to use military force
46	Mainly because they thought economic sanctions might work
17	Don't know
100	

C8915-4.2-E

Times Mirror
Center for
The People &
The Press

EMBARGOED NEWS

OCT 13 1991

1875 Eye Street, N.W., Suite 1110
Washington, D.C. 20006
202 293-3126

FOR RELEASE: SUNDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1991, A.M.

Two In Three Want Candidates To Discuss Economic Issues

"DON'T KNOW" LEADS KERREY IN EARLY DEMOCRATIC NOMINATION SWEEPS

"Don't Know" leads in the early stages of the race for the Democratic presidential nomination with Senator Bob Kerrey of Nebraska coming up fast. Kerrey, who announced his candidacy less than two weeks ago, holds a marginally significant lead (21%) among Democrats and Independents who lean to the Democratic Party over Governors Douglas Wilder of Virginia (15%), Bill Clinton of Arkansas (14%) and Senator Tom Harkin of Iowa (13%). Former Senator Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts trailed the pack at 9 percent.

A survey by the ***Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press*** finds a public far more interested in the state of the economy than in any other potential issue in the 1992 presidential campaign. Voters say they want to hear more about where presidential candidates stand on issues than they have in past campaigns, and 66% of them say the economy is the issue they want discussed. Eighty percent of those polled by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press respond that in 1992 they would like to see ***more*** media coverage of presidential candidates discussing their positions on issues, and the "overall condition of the economy" was the individual topic most frequently cited (43%), followed by unemployment (15%), and the budget deficit (8%). Education (11%), abortion (10%), health care (8%) and homelessness (8%) were other frequently cited domestic issues. Overall, 83% of Times Mirror's respondents cited domestic issues, compared to only 15% who named international issues.

The focus on the economy was common to all major voting groups. Republicans (69%) and Democrats (67%), men (69%) and women (62%), blacks (63%) and whites (66%), Bush approvers (65%), and Bush disapprovers (71%) were equally likely to cite some aspect of the economy as the campaign subject of most interest to them.

Republicans and Republican-oriented groups were more apt to express an interest in the general condition of the economy, while Democrats were more likely to mention unemployment and joblessness. Most vividly, the latter issue was mentioned by 29% of the blacks who participated in the survey, compared to only 13% of whites.

There was more demographic diversity in response to some of the less frequently mentioned subjects. Notably young people (under 30's) were twice as likely as older people to say they want to hear presidential candidates discuss their positions on ***abortion (19%)***. College graduates were more interested in the views of candidates on ***educational issues (18%)***. People who say they have been following news about the Democratic candidates very closely were more interested than other people in ***unemployment (26%)*** and the issue of ***homelessness (13%)***.

Bush Beats the "Democrat of Choice"

George Bush, despite sagging approval ratings, down from 77 percent in May to 61% last weekend, continues to be an easy winner in a test election.

In the current survey, respondents were first asked to name the candidate they most preferred for the Democratic nomination. They were then asked to pick between Bush and the Democrat of their choice if the election were to be held today. 55% said they would like to see Bush win, while 38% said they would like to see the Democrat of choice defeat Bush. (When the sample was restricted to registered voters Bush won the test election by a similar 54% to 39% margin).

Despite the president's wide lead at this early stage of the campaign, follow up questions reveal that most Americans have yet to come to a firm decision as to whether they will vote for or against Bush in 1992. Twenty-eight percent of the sample said they had pretty much made up their minds to vote for Bush against a Democratic challenger, while 22% have firmly decided to vote for a Democrat.

While it is not unusual for most people to say they have not fully made up their minds this far out from an election campaign, the findings do illustrate just how much room each side has in which to develop a winning constituency. It also illustrates each side's strengths and vulnerability.

Bush's support appears firmer among younger voters than among older ones. Men who now say they support the President show more conviction than women who say they would like to see Bush win over a Democratic challenger next November. Bush's support also tends to be more committed in the South than in other parts of the country.

Among the Democrats, white supporters show less commitment than African Americans. Older voters who say they now would support a Democratic candidate against President Bush are firmer than young people. Democratic supporters in the West are more apt to say they have made up their minds than Democratic supporters in other parts of the country.

As in all elections, political independents constitute the largest bloc of loosely committed voters. In the current survey, 23% of this group said they had made up their minds to vote for Bush and 15% reported they had made up their minds to vote against him. The single largest bloc of independents (36%) are Bush supporters who say they might change their minds.

Presidential Approval Dips

The President's overall job performance will be an overarching theme of the campaign. With 61% approving and 28% disapproving, President Bush's ratings in the current poll are about where they were just prior to the start of the Gulf War.

Approval of Bush's performance has declined most sharply among groups that typically gravitate to the Democratic party, which had been showing unusually high levels of support for the President. Since May Bush's ratings have fallen most among older people, the less well-educated, and among blacks. The black falloff is clearly the most extreme. Among African Americans the President's ratings tumbled 30 percentage points! (58% approved in May vs. 28% currently).

On balance more Democrats now disapprove of Bush (49%) than approve (40%) while the President continues to get good ratings from loyalist Republicans (85% approve). Independents fall between these extremes with a 63% approval rating.

Aura of Invincibility

The public's widespread anticipation of a Bush victory in 1992 is far ahead of the level of enthusiasm expressed for the President's candidacy. Seventy-six percent of those polled said they expected a Bush victory in 1992. Only 12% forecast a Democratic win. The survey found that even among those who are firmly committed to voting for a Democrat, 59% expected a Bush re-election.

Pessimism about a Democratic victory in '92 is even greater than it was in the waning days of the '88 campaign, when a Gallup Poll found 68% expecting a Bush victory and just 14% thinking Dukakis would be elected.

Voter Interest in Democratic Contest on Par with '88

Although most of the Democratic candidates have emerged only recently, interest in the contest for the nomination is at the same level as four years ago, when the field was crowded early and the candidates dominated news coverage. Currently 12% of the public says it has been paying very close attention to news about the Democratic nominees, while another 26% has been following this story fairly closely. In October of 1987, 15% were following the Democratic race very closely and 28% fairly closely.

The similarities in public response, despite the vast differences in the conduct of the campaigns is echoed in the way the Democratic candidates are being judged. As a group, the current crop of Democratic candidates are rated pretty much the way the contestants were evaluated 4 years ago. In the first week of January of 1988, Times Mirror found 33% of those who could evaluate the Democratic field giving the candidates excellent or good ratings. In the current poll, 27% of those who could evaluate them gave "*good*" or "*excellent*" ratings to the current field of Democrats. "*Only Fair*" was the most frequent evaluation voiced in both polls about the candidates seeking the Democratic nomination (48% in 1988, 52% in 1991).

Three In Four Care About Election Outcome

Opinions about the perceived importance of the coming presidential contest also match what the public told Times Mirror four years ago. As in 1987, three in four respondents (73%) told us they care a great deal ***who wins***, while only slightly more than half (55%) said they cared a great deal ***which party*** wins the White House.

These findings do not augur well for voter turnout. Four years ago this level of expressed caring about the election outcome was associated with a record low turnout. However, the '92 turnout may be further handicapped by the widespread public view that the race will be a runaway.

Democrats Care Less

The traditional difficulty of the Democratic party in energizing and mobilizing its forces is reflected in this survey. Among people who have pretty much made up their mind to vote for George Bush, 81% said they care who wins this election. However, among those who say they have already decided to vote Democratic, only ***70%*** say they care who wins the election.

The disparity gets even larger, when those with less commitment are considered. Among weak Bush supporters, 72% say they care who wins, while only 66% of weak Democratic supporters express this view.

Satisfaction with Amount of Coverage

Four years ago a solid 59% majority of the public thought that the press was overcovering the 1992 presidential campaign. Today the prevailing view (58%) is that the press is devoting the right amount of coverage to the campaign. Moreover, as it was then, the public is clear in how it would like candidates covered.

Fewer than one in ten in the current survey (7%) and four years ago (9%) said that they would like the press to concentrate on a candidate's personal character. Most in the current survey say they want to see an emphasis on the candidate's stand on issues (46%) or on a candidate's experience or qualifications (42%). Hard core Bush supporters are more likely to want to see an emphasis on the latter (50%), while

Bush opponents want the media to place more emphasis on candidates' stands on issues (59%).

Opinion is even more clear cut when people are asked about the kind of coverage they want in 1992, relative to the kind of coverage they received in previous presidential elections. Eighty percent want more coverage of a candidate's positions on issues, 58% want more coverage of the candidates debating each other.

In contrast, the public is evenly divided between those who want more (44%) versus those who want less (43%) coverage of the candidates touring the country and are similarly lukewarm about coverage of the candidates discussing their personal backgrounds and experiences (46% say more of this, 41% say less of this). A resounding 73% say they want to hear less analysis and commentary of campaign commercials. Whether or not this is as much a vote against commercials as it is a vote against media coverage is an open question.

Nine Sundays - a Good Idea

More than three in four thought the concept of "Nine Sundays" was a good idea. Seventy-seven percent so evaluated a plan described as having the major presidential candidates appearing on TV one evening per week for each of the nine weeks leading up to the election, discussing and answering questions about their policies and debating each other.

Times Mirror's respondents were somewhat less positive about the personal benefits arising from such a program. Forty-three percent said the plan as described would be very helpful in deciding for whom to vote, 39% somewhat helpful and 15% not helpful.

Perhaps more important than the absolute numbers was the pattern of response. Young people, who have the lowest levels of political participation were much more likely than older people to see this as a good idea and one that would personally benefit them. Eighty-six percent of respondents under 30 years of age thought this was a good idea (compared to 66% among those 50 and older), while 50% thought it would be very helpful to them (compared to 35% among older people).

COMMITMENT TO VOTING FOR BUSH VS. "DEMOCRAT OF CHOICE"

	Made up Mind to Vote for Bush	Other Probable Bush Supporters	Made up Mind to Vote for a Democratic Candidate	Other Probable Democratic Supporters	Other/ Undecided	N
Total	28	27	21	16	8	(1211)
Sex						
Male	31	26	21	16	7	(608)
Female	25	28	22	17	8	(603)
Race						
White	30	29	18	16	7	(1028)
Black	9	14	42	24	11	(100)
Age						
Under 30	34	30	16	13	9	(288)
30-49	28	27	20	18	7	(532)
50+	23	25	27	17	8	(383)
Family Income						
Under $20,000	22	24	26	19	9	(317)
$20,000-$29,999	28	30	17	19	6	(239)
$30,000-$49,999	33	29	21	11	6	(306)
$50+	37	28	18	13	4	(229)
Education						
College graduate	32	26	18	17	7	(325)
Other college	25	35	21	12	8	(325)
High school grad	30	29	19	16	6	(426)
Less than h.s. grad	24	14	29	23	10	(128)
Region						
East	25	28	19	18	10	(297)
Midwest	25	27	20	18	10	(333)
South	35	26	19	15	5	(394)
West	23	28	29	13	6	(187)
Party ID						
Republican	58	28	3	7	4	(351)
Democrat	8	15	47	22	7	(341)
Independent	23	36	15	18	8	(480)

SURVEY METHODOLOGY

The survey results are based on telephone interviews conducted among a nationwide sample of 1,211 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period October 3-6, 1991. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For results based on respondents who consider themselves to be Democrats and Democrat-leaners (N=495), the sampling error is plus or minus 5 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

TIMES MIRROR SURVEY
OCTOBER 1991
October 3-6, 1991
N=1,211

SEX: 1[ ]Male 2[ ]Female

TIME STARTED: _____

TIME FINISHED: _____

LENGTH: _____

REGION: 1 East
2 Midwest
3 South
4 West

INTERVIEWER'S NAME: _____

INTERVIEWER'S I.D.: _____

PAGE NUMBER: _____

REPLICATE NUMBER: _____

STRATUM: 1 Stratum One
2 Stratum Two
3 Remainder

DATE: _____

INTRODUCTION: Hello, I am _____ calling from the Princeton Survey Research Associates from Princeton, New Jersey. We are conducting a telephone opinion survey for leading newspapers and tv stations around the country. I'd like to ask a few questions of the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home (IF NO MALE, ASK: May I please speak with the oldest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?)

My first question is...

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

		NEWS INTEREST INDEX				
		July 1991	May 1991	March 1991	Jan 25 1991	Jan 3 1991
61	Approve	67	77	84	79	59
28	Disapprove	23	16	10	14	24
11	Don't know	10	7	6	7	17
100		100	100	100	100	100

Q.2 Tell me if you have followed news about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **(READ AND ROTATE LIST)**

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK
News about the Democratic candidates for the Presidential nomination	12	26	31	29	2=100
(October, 1987)	15	28	35	21	1=100
(n=1,501)					

NOTE: Question 3 was asked in two different ways.

FORM 1

Q.3 Generally speaking would you say that <u>you personally</u> care a good deal who wins the 92' presidential election or that you don't care very much?

		May 1987
73	Care a good deal	76
22	Don't care very much	20
5	Don't know	4
100		100

FORM 2

Q.3a Generally speaking would you say that <u>you personally</u> care a good deal which party wins the 92' presidential election or that you don't care very much?

		May 1987
55	Care a good deal	54
39	Don't care very much	40
6	Don't know	6
100		100

Q.4 Overall, what's your opinion of the men running for the Democratic presidential nomination? As a group, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, fair candidates or poor candidates?

		Jan. 1988
2	Excellent	3
18	Good	27
38	Fair	44
15	Poor	17
27	Don't know	9
100		100

Q.5 Can you recall the names of any Democrats who have been mentioned lately as possible presidential candidates?

Q.5a Who?

		May 1991
28	Could name a candidate	30
7	Douglas Wilder	
8	Robert Kerrey	
5	Tom Harkin	
3	Mario Cuomo	
3	Jesse Jackson	
10	Bill Clinton	
2	Jerry Brown	
*	Dave Mc Curdy	
5	Paul Tsongas	
1	Al Gore	
3	Other _____	
72	Could not recall names	70

Q.6 I am going to read to you the names of some possible candidates for the Democratic nomination for President. After I read all the names would you tell me which <u>one</u> you would most like to see nominated as the Democratic parties candidate for President? (ROTATE LIST)

IF ANSWERED '6' OTHER OR '9' DK IN Q.6 ASK:
Q.6b Well as of today, to whom do you most lean? (REREAD LIST)

<u>*BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND LEANERS</u>

9	Former Massachusetts Senator Paul Tsongas
15	Virginia Governor Douglas Wilder
21	Nebraska Senator Robert Kerrey
13	Iowa Senator Tom Harkin
14	Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton
2	Other
26	DK
100	

ASK ALL:
Q.7 Suppose the 1992 presidential election were being held today. If George Bush were the Republican candidate and (candidate named above) were the Democratic candidate, who would you like to see win?

IF ANSWERED '3' OTHER OR '4' UNDECIDED IN Q.7 ASK:
Q.8 As of today do you lean more to Bush the Republican or to (named Dem) the Democrat?

<u>BASED ON ALL RESPONDENTS</u>

55	Bush with leaners
38	Named Democratic candidate with leaners
7	Other/Undecided
100	

<u>BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS</u>

54	Bush with leaners
39	Named Democratic candidate with leaners
7	Other/Undecided
100	

*n=495

IF ANSWERED '1' BUSH IN Q.7 OR Q.8 ASK:

Q.9 Have you pretty much made up your mind that you are going to support President Bush or is there a chance you might you support a Democratic candidate?

BASED ON ALL RESPONDENTS

28 Made up mind

21 Might support Democratic candidate

6 Can't say

55

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

28 Made up mind

21 Might support Democratic candidate

6 Can't say

55

IF ANSWERED '2' DEM CANDIDATE IN Q.7 OR Q.8 ASK:

Q.10 Have you pretty much made up your mind that you are going to support a Democratic candidate against President Bush or is there a chance you might support President Bush?

BASED ON ALL RESPONDENTS

22 Made up mind

10 Might support Bush

6 Can't say

38

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

22 Made up mind

11 Might support Bush

5 Can't say

38

ASK ALL:

Q.11 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the coming presidential election - George Bush or a Democratic candidate?

		Late Oct. 1988
76	Bush	68
12	Democratic candidate	14
12	Can't say	18
100		100

Q.12 So far, do you think news organizations are giving too much coverage to the 1992 presidential campaign, too little coverage to the campaign, or the right amount of coverage?

		Oct. 1987
12	Too much	59
22	Too little	5
58	Right amount	31
8	Don't know	5
100		100

Q.13 In reporting on a presidential candidate, what <u>one</u> factor do you think news organizations should pay the most attention to: **(READ CATEGORIES 1-3)**

		Oct. 1987
7	A candidates personal character	9
46	A candidates stand on issues	41
42	A candidates past experiences and qualifications	45
5	Don't know	5
100		100

Q.14 What one issue would you most like to hear presidential candidates talk about? **(YOU MAY ACCEPT THREE MENTIONS)**

43	The economy
15	Unemployment, protecting U.S. jobs
11	Education
10	Abortion
8	Budget deficit, national debt
8	Healthcare in general
8	Homelessness, housing
6	Taxes
5	Defense, the military
4	Social Security, elderly issues
15	Net International Issues
83	Net Domestic Issues
66	Net Economic Issues
5	Net Crime/Drug Issues
13	Don't know

On a different subject...

Q.15 A recent study has recommended that the major presidential candidates appear on TV one evening per week for each of the nine weeks leading up to the election. In these appearances the candidates would talk about policies they plan to follow, if elected, answer questions about their policies and debate each other? Do you think these nine appearances are a good idea or a bad idea?

77	Good idea
16	Bad idea
7	Don't know
100	

Q.16 How helpful do you think such a program of appearances would be to <u>you</u> in deciding for whom to vote?

43 Very helpful?

39 Somewhat helpful?

8 Not too helpful?

or

7 Not at all helpful?

3 Don't know
100

Q.17 I am going to read some things news organizations can do to cover a presidential election campaign. For each tell me if it is something you would like to see <u>more</u> of, or like to see <u>less</u> of in coverage of the 1992 campaign? First, thinking of (ITEM - ROTATE) would you like to see more coverage of this or less coverage of this than in previous presidential elections? (REPEAT AFTER EACH ITEM)

	<u>More of</u>	<u>Less of</u>	(VOL) <u>Same</u>	Can't <u>say</u>
a. The candidates debating each other	58	28	9	5=100
b. The candidates touring the country meeting voters	44	43	9	4=100
c. The candidates discussing their personal backgrounds and experiences	46	41	8	5=100
d. The candidates discussing their positions on issues	80	11	5	4=100
e. Analyses and commentary on campaign commercials	15	73	6	6=100